R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 015 033 95 RC 000 178

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY INSTITUTE FOR THE IN-SERVICE TRAINING OF TEACHERS AND OTHER SCHOOL PERSONNEL TO ACCELERATE THE SCHOOL ACCEPTANCE OF INDIAN, NEGRO, AND SPANISH-SPEAKING PUPILS OF THE SOUTHWEST. INTERIM REPORT NO. 2.

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REPORT NUMBER NMSU-IR-2 PUB DATE DEC 66
CONTRACT OEC-4-6-000201-1980
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.25 HC-$1.28 30P.

DESCRIPTORS- *AMERICAN INDIANS, ACHIEVEMENT, ACADEMIC ABILITY, ACADEMIC ASPIRATION, ABILITY IDENTIFICATION, ATTITUDES, ANGLO AMERICANS, CULTURE, CURRICULUM, *EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES, *EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY, *EDUCATIONAL STATUS COMPARISON, ETHNIC GROUPS, MOTIVATION, PERCEPTION, *SPANISH AMERICANS, SCHOOL ROLE, TEACHER MOTIVATION, AZTEC, NEW MEXICO, TULAROSA, NEW MEXICO,

IN CONJUCTION WITH AN INTERDISCIPLINARY INSTITUTE AT NEW MEXICO STATE UNIVERSITY, A SURVEY WAS CONDUCTED TO DETERMINE PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF COMMUNITY MEMBERS AND SCHOOL PERSONNEL IN THE PROVISION OF EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ANGLO, SPANISH-AMERICAN AND INDIAN CHILDREN IN AZTEC AND TULAROSA, NEW MEXICO. THE MAJOR QUESTIONS ASKED WERE--HOW DOES THE DOMINANT MAJORITY ANGLO CULTURE VIEW THE ABILITIES OF SPANISH-AMERICAN AND INDIAN CHILDREN COMPARED TO THEIR OWN, HOW DOES THE SPANISH-AMERICAN AND INDIAN PARENT FEEL ABOUT THE ABILITIES OF HIS CHILDREN COMPARED TO THEIR ANGLO CLASSMATES, IS THE FAILURE OF SPANISH-AMERICAN AND INDIAN CHILDREN, IN CONTRAST TO THE RELATIVE SUCCESS OF ANGLO CHILDREN IN SCHOOL, PERCEIVED AS A RESULT OF DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT BY TEACHERS AND SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS, AND HOW MUCH OF THIS FAILURE DO THE MEMBERS OF THE THREE CULTURAL GROUPS AND THE EDUCATORS THEMSELVES ATTRIBUTE TO INADEQUACIES IN THE SCHOOL PROGRAM. TWO DISTINCT PATTERNS EMERGE FROM THE DATA. FIRST, MEMBERS OF ALL GROUPS PERCEIVE THE ANGLO CHILD AS MOST CAPABLE, THE SPANISH-AMERICAN CHILD AS LESS CAPABLE, AND THE INDIAN CHILD AS LEAST CAPABLE OF ACHIEVING DESIRABLE GOALS. SECOND, ALL GROUPS SAW PUPILS AS MOST CAPABLE OF COMPLETING HIGH SCHOOL, LESS CAPABLE OF ATTENDING TRADE SCHOOL OR COLLEGE, AND LEAST CAPABLE OF FINDING A JOB AFTER SCHOOL. GRAPHS AND A BIBLIOGRAPHY ARE INCLUDED. (JH)

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INTERIM REPORT NO. 2

for

An Interdisciplinary Institute for the In-service Training of Teachers and Other School Personnel to Accelerate the School Acceptance of Indian, Negro, and Spanish-Speaking Pupils of the Southwest

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Restricted exclusively for the use of the United States Office of Education, Aztec and Tularosa School Districts, New Mexico, and New Mexico State University.

by

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Contract Number OEC 4-6-000201-1980
P.L. 88-352, Title IV, Section 404
The Civil Rights Act of 1964

DIRECTED BY DR. DARRELL S. WILLEY

"The Project Reported Review was supported by a contract from the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare."

December 1966

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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RC 000 178

A. Content

The two major objectives of the Summer Institute were (1) to provide teachers, school administrators, and counselors with an insight into the social, cultural, political, and economic factors that affect the efficiency of educational programs in culturally diverse communities of the Southwest; and (2) to develop among these personnel the ability to analyze and prepare educational programs better suited for schools enrolling significant numbers of their student bodies from diverse cultures, in particular Indian, Negro and Spanish-American.

Interim Report No. 1 dated August 1966 set forth the particular strengths and weaknesses of the Institute as to professor personnel, consultants, instructional facets and the early and surface results of two comprehensive community-school surveys. Surveys conducted at Tularosa and Aztec School Districts, New Mexico were designed to give the Institute participants direct involvement in assessing the actual presence or absence of equal educational opportunities for all children and youth. The period of time of August--December 1966 was devoted to a computerized refinement of data lifted from community survey field instruments.

Dr. James G. Anderson, Research Professor of Educational Administration and Dr. Dwight Safar, Assistant Professor of Education, members of the Summer Institute staff, developed the detailed second report, "The Influence of Differential Community Perceptions on the Provision of Equal Educational Opportunities," included as Appendix A in this report.

B. Specific Detail

1. Transposition of data lifted from the questionnaires demanded the development of a computer program designed to meet the particular needs

of the Institute. This was written by Dr. James G. Anderson in conjunction with representatives of the University Computer Center.

2. Transposition of data lifted from the questionnaires required the use of listing sheets and the manual recording of information in a systematic manner. Miss Ann Simmons and Mr. Ellis Scott, project Graduate Assistants, devised the system wherein this was accomplished. A number of Las Cruces High School honor students from the areas of mathematics and science aided the project in the preparation of the listing sheets. Approximately 640 work hours were invested by Miss Simmons and Mr. Scott in this work phase.

3. The second semester of 1966-1967 will be spent in the field followup phase. A time lapse of approximately one semester was deemed necessary prior to participant contact. Each participant will be visited in the home school by an Institute staff member. Visitations to administrators and supervisors will be made to assess any differentials in effectiveness of the participants.

4. Further refinement of the field survey data will permit the preparation of a March Interim Report dealing with pupil performance within the two multicultural communities.

Appendix A

THE INFLUENCE OF DIFFERENTIAL COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS ON THE PROVISION OF EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES[1]

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December 1966

TO BE PUBLISHED in Sociology of Education, Volume 40 (Fall, 1967)

ABSTRACT

Through extensive interviews with community members and school personnel in two multicultural Southwestern Communities,* the authors of this study attempt to demonstrate the importance of perceptions and attitudes in the provision of equality of educational opportunity for Spanish-American and Indian children.

The findings demonstrate a ubiquitous feeling that Spanish-American and Indian children are less capable of achieving desirable goals than are their Anglo contemporaries. This lack of ability of the minority groups appears, in a large part, to be perceived as a lack of innate ability and support rather than as the fault of inadequate school programs.

Moreover, this feeling of inferiority appears to be internalized by the minority groups themselves, thus creating an insidious negative climate for their children.

The authors contend that when the notion that one general educational program is adequate for all children regardless of background is coupled with the feeling that children from minority groups are innately less capable than their middle-class Anglo classmates, little is done to offer true equality of educational opportunity.

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*Community A is Aztec, New Mexico; Community B is Tularosa, New Mexico.

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

National concern with providing equal educational opportunities for children from minority racial and ethnic groups and from deprived environments is evident in a spate of articles, books and federal legislation. This concern is further manifested by two recent studies commissioned by the U. S. Office of Education in response to Section 404 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[2] These studies were designed to assess the availability of equal educational opportunities for children from the various racial, ethnic and religious groups.

A perusal of these studies and other writings reveals four distinct criteria employed to assess inequality of educational opportunity.[3]

First, the availability of equal educational opportunities for children from various minority groups has been determined by comparing physical facilities, curricula offered, characteristics of the instructional and administrative staffs, teacher-pupil ratios, per pupil expenditures, teachers' salaries, etc.[4]

A second approach has been to ascertain the degree of compliance with the Supreme Court decision of 1954[5] by determining the proportion of each minority group presently attending desegregated schools.[6]

With the belated realization of the extent to which a student's background drastically affects his performance in school, a third approach has been adopted, namely, to assume that students from culturally impoverished homes are de facto subject to unequal educational opportunities.[7]

Finally, a number of authors state that equality of educational opportunity will exist only when the graduates of the schools are equally well prepared to compete for jobs, income, status, and housing.[8]

These last two approaches at best call attention to the difficulties encountered by minority group children in the schools; at worst add little to our understanding as to why such de facto inequality exists. Whereas, the quantitative approachs, while enlightening in many respects, neglect less tangible phenomena such as differential attitudes and perceptions of members of the community and of educators regarding racial or ethnic characteristics and the efficacy of educational programs. Although intangible, these attitudes and perceptions may have a significant bearing upon the school's ability to provide equal educational opportunities. For it is the authors' contention that perceptions of a phenomenon or condition plays a more important role in determining the behavior of the perceiver than the conditions as they may appear to an independent observer. Furthermore, in our estimation, awareness of the perceptions held by the racial and ethnic groups represented in the schools is paramount in the provision and assessment of equality of education.

This rationale stems, in part, from the thinking of perceptual psychologists such as Combs and Snygg,[9] who view behavior as based, in a large part, upon an individual's perception of the situation. This is a basic tennant of perceptual psychology. An individual's behavior is a result of the stimuli and facts to which he is exposed and, more importantly, the interpretations and meanings that exist for him--his perceptions. For example, is it possible that a school program may be less than effective because various individuals and groups perceive it as inadequate, even though the school offers an adequate instructional program, as reflected by appropriate criteria used in determining equal educational opportunities? In this instance behavior may not be based upon the facts or conditions, but upon the interpretation of the facts and the conditions.

Moreover, Carl Rogers has suggested that a person's behavior can be understood only when it is related to the individual's internal frame of reference. Such an individual develops a self concept through his interaction with significant other persons in his environment and through their evaluation of him and their response to him. He then responds to his environment and to other persons with whom he has relationships in terms of this self concept.[10]

For most children, interpersonal relationships with members of their immediate family is a major socializing agent. Attitudes, values, and experiences within the family profoundly influence performance in the school as well as occupational aspirations and values.[11] For example, research has shown that one general pervasive characteristic of the family - social class status - is highly related to children's achievement in school, mental ability test scores, course failure, truancy, desire to complete school, post high school aspirations, etc.[12]

Compounding the effect of social class is racial or ethnic background.[13] These two factors are highly correlated in American society where children from all other racial and ethnic groups do poorly on ability and achievement tests in comparison with the dominant Anglo middle class child.

Support for the pervasive influence of these background factors on subsequent achievement has been provided by one of the major conclusions from the Coleman - Campbell study; namely, that the largest portion of variation in achievement of students who attend different schools is not due to differences in the schools' programs, instructional staff, etc., but rather is a consequence of variations in the family background of children when they enter the school in the first place.[14]

One of the ways in which low social class status and membership in a minority racial or ethnic group may depress educational achievement and aspirations is by creating a home environment where there is an acute awareness of lack of opportunity both in education and occupations. This woeful ignorance as to means of translating aspirations into reality almost ensures that the child will develop a negative self image.

A study of male youths who had quit school and joined the Job Corp would appear to support this observation.[15] Gottlieb found that, contrary to public opinion, lower class youth do seek to achieve middle class status and that they perceive parents and teachers as encouraging their efforts. However, in accounting for their disinterest in formal education, Gottlieb suggests that these youths fail to relate school programs to their future vocational aspirations and expectations. Also, they come into contact with few adults who can assist them in clarifying and attaining their goals.

After the home the school appears to have a significant affect on the development of a child's self-perception. Studies by Jersild[16] Reeder[17] and Stevens[18] all have demonstrated a relationship between student's achievement and positive self-images. Other studies have shown that chilren's perceptions of their teachers' attitudes toward them is related to their self-image, academic achievement, and classroom behavior.[19]

Under the circumstances the problem confronting children from lower social class families and/or from minority racial and ethnic groups takes on all the appearances of a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure. As Clark[20] has suggested and the Coleman - Campbell study demonstrates, these children begin school at a distinct educational disadvantage, encumbered by a lack of middle class manners and self control, lacking adult models with whom to identify, deficient in cultural experiences that profoundly affect aptitude and achievement measures. They are subtly discriminated

against by the school programs, as Riessman suggests. Consequently, they perform at a much lower level than their Anglo classmates, thus fulfilling the expectations of their parents and teachers and guaranteeing their failure in the school and ultimately in our society.

As a necessary precurser to the provision of equal educational opportunities, however, there must exist both an awareness of the "hidden dissuaders"[21] that operate covertly, and therefore insidiously, within the schools to the detriment of all but the white middle class student and an appreciation for the massive influence that a child and his parents' perceptions of his ability and opportunities to achieve desirable goals has on his behavior. Without such an awareness by the public, as well as by the educators who are charged with the responsibility for designing and carrying out the educational program, racial and ethnic inferiority in ability and motivation are blamed for the failure of minority children rather than the inadequacies in the school's programs that subtly and covertly discourage and discriminate against children from these groups.

With these considerations in mind the present study was undertaken.[22] An attempt has been made to explore the perceptions of parents, teachers, school administrators, school board members, and the community at large as to the abilities of children from each of the racial and ethnic groups studied (in this instance Anglo, Spanish-American and Indian), as well as their perceptions of the adequacy of the school program for each of the three groups of children.

The major questions that were asked were: How does the dominant majority Anglo culture view the abilities of Spanish-American and Indian children in comparison to their own? In turn, how do the Spanish-American and the Indian parent feel about the abilities of their own children in comparison to their Anglo classmates? Is the failure of Spanish-American and the Indian children in contrast to the relative success of Anglo children in school, percieved as a result of differential treatment by teachers and school administrators?[23] How much of this failure do the members of the three cultural groups and the educators themselves attribute to inadequacies in the school program?

In order to explore these questions, a study was conducted in two southwestern communities. Community A is characterized as a rural farming community predominantly Anglo in makeup. Spanish-speaking families and a very few Indian families constitute small minority groups. The bulk of the Indian students who attend the schools reside in a dormitory in the community. The school board, school administration, and all but a very few teachers are Anglo.

Many of the Anglos and Spanish-Americans residing in Community B are employed by the government at one of several military installations.

The schools are attended by approximately equal numbers of Anglo, Spanish-American and Indian students who are bussed in from the reservation each day. In this case, the school board consists of four Spanish-American and one Anglo member. The superintendent is Spanish-American, but the other administrators and the bulk of the teachers are Anglo. In each community, a sample of residents was interviewed as were all available school board members, school administrators, teachers, and counselors.

PERCEPTIONS OF ABILITY

Consistent with the hypothesis that perceptions of ability have significant effects upon educational programs and subsequent pupil behavior, we felt that it was necessary to determine pupil ability as perceived by cultural groups in the community, by the school board, by the school administration, and by the teaching staff. All of these groups responded to a set of questions which asked: "In your opinion, what proportion of the (Anglo, Spanish-American, Indian) children could (finish high school, go on to trade school or college, find a job) if adequate encouragement and assistance were given?" Responses to these questions are presented in Figures 1 and 2 for Communities A and B, respectively.

FIGURES 1 and 2

Two distinct patterns emerge from the data. First, members of all groups perceive the Anglo child as most capable of achieving desirable goals, the Spanish-American as less capable, and the Indian as least capable of achieving these goals.

The Anglos interviewed attributed the lower ability of the Spanish-American children to a lack of encouragement by parents and in general a lack of appreciation for education. At the same time they viewed the Indian family as lazy and lacking incentive. A few alluded to the language barrier faced by many of these children who do not learn to speak English until they enter the elementary school.

The Spanish-American families interviewed reflected some of these same sentiments regarding members of their own culture and the Indians.

They too felt that many Spanish-American families fail to appreciate the need for formal education and, consequently, do not encourage their children. They viewed the Indian child as having inferior mental ability and as lacking incentive due to their dependency on the federal government.

The interpretation of these findings suggests that a "self-fulfilling prophecy" might well be operating in these communities; that is, minority group members think of themselves as inferior and subsequently fail in school thus reinforcing their perception of themselves as inferior. If such a hypothesis is correct, the consequences would appear to be significant. It appears that minority groups, such as the Spanish-American and the Indian who consistently do poorly in school and who are subtly discriminated against by the present system of education (essentially designed for the high-ability, college-bound, middle class, Anglo student) may internalize their feelings of inferiority and come to feel that their failure is deserved. Although this phenomenon has frequently been observed among Negroes in the South, it is significant that the same pattern obtains for minority groups in the Southwest.

Moreover, this hierarchical pattern of perceived pupil abilities is reflected by the school board, school administration, and teachers in both communities. This fact may have added significance when it is realized that school personnel are predominantly Anglo and are, in a large part, responsible for the educational programs offered in these communities. Consequently an insidious effect of the failure of students from minority groups may be the reinforcement of a stereotyped view of the Spanish-American and Indian as inferior in ability and motivation, rather

than an appreciation of the failure of the school to provide adequate programs for these children. Moreover, with both teachers and the community at large responding to the minority students as though such students have little opportunity to succeed in the schools,[24] and with the minority students tending to think of themselves as others think of them, it is not too surprising that one finds a high drop-out rate and a low level of achievement among the Spanish-American and Indian children. Our findings make it clear that these attitudes and consequences are the outcome of the way the school systems are presently organized in these communities.

The second pattern that emerges is a tendency for all groups to see pupils as most capable of completing high school, less capable of attending trade school or college, and least capable of finding a job after high school. This ordering realistically reflects the current labor situation; that is, a definite curtailment in the number of available jobs that do not require considerable post-high school preparation. However, it may be worth pondering the consequence of the minority groups' perceptions of the ability of their children to obtain jobs. Could the reaction be "why complete high school when one's ability to find a job is questionable?". Surely the middle class Anglo values post-high school preparation and is not overly concerned about difficulties in finding a job after completing his education. The same self-assurance is not evident among the parents of pupils from minority groups.

PERCEPTIONS OF ENCOURAGEMENT GIVEN TO STUDENTS

Encouragement given to students by teachers, counselors, and school administrators is generally considered to be an important factor in their

success or failure in school. However, whether or not parents and their children feel that all students receive the same assistance and encouragement may be as important a conditioner of pupil performance, if not more important, than the actual circumstances. In order to determine the extent to which persons in the community and the school staff felt that differential treatment was accorded children from the three ethnic groups, the following question was posed: "In your opinion, to what extent are the (Anglo, Indian, Spanish-American) children encouraged by teachers, counselors, and school administrators to do well in the schools?"

The responses of the various groups within Communities A and B are shown in Figures 3 and 4, respectively.

FIGURES 3 AND 4

The Community at large and the school personnel in Community A feel that children from Spanish-American and Indian families receive less encouragement than their Anglo classmates.

The greatest dispirity in encouragement is perceived by the school administration. Quite to the contrary, the school board members interviewed felt that all of the children are equally encouraged. Moreover, they believed that all students are encouraged to a much greater extent than did any of the other groups interviewed.

Within Community B (Figure 4), a different picture is revealed. The Anglo community, which is a slight numerical minority feels that the Spanish-American pupils are given the most encouragement. This is similar to the perception of the minority group (Spanish-American) in Community A. At the same time, the Spanish-American people in Community B feel, on the

whole, that it is the Anglo child who is accorded the most encouragement in the school.

Probably the most significant feature of Figure 4 is the variance between the perceptions of the school board (which is almost totally composed of Spanish-Americans) and those of the school administrators and teachers who are, for the most part, Anglo. The board feels rather strongly that Spanish-American and Indian pupils are not afforded the encouragement given to Anglo pupils. In direct opposition to this, the school administration feels that Spanish-Americans and Indians receive the greatest amount of encouragement, while teachers feel that all children are equally encouraged.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE ADEQUACY OF SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Educators have argued that the school is a mirror which reflects the Anglo middle class culture. Is this argument substantiated by perceptions of the Anglo community, the minority communities, and the respective educational constituents - school board, school administration, and teaching staff? In view of the respective groups' differential perceptions of pupil ability and encouragement, what perceptions do they have concerning the adequacy of the school program?

Perceptions concerning the adequacy of the school program were determined by obtaining responses to a set of questions which asked: "In your opinion, how adequate is the school's program of studies for (Anglo, Indian, Spanish-American) children?"

FIGURES 5 AND 6

Figures 5 and 6 contain the responses for the various groups in Communities A and B, respectively. Interestingly enough the disparity in perceptions between the Anglo and Spanish-American segments of Community B is manifested again. The Spanish-Americans on the whole feel that the school program is designed primarily for the Anglo student, while the Anglo community indicates that they believe that the school program is most adequate for the Spanish-American child and less adequate for their own children.

Generally, however, all of the community groups perceive relatively little difference in the adequacy of the educational program available to pupils from the three ethnic groups.

Moreover, the Spanish-American families interviewed in both communities evidenced the highest level of satisfaction with the present educational program despite the fact that their children do poorly in the schools in comparison with their Anglo classmates. In view of the previous findings that demonstrate a ubiquitous lack of confidence in the ability of Spanish-American children to achieve the same goals expected of Anglo children it may be hypothesized that the Spanish-Americans and Indians in the Southwest attribute the failure of their children in the schools to a lack of ability rather than to inadequacies in the schools programs.

On the other hand, school personnel - administrators and teachers - in both communities perceive considerable variance in the adequacy of the school program. For the most part, they perceive the educational program to be most adequate for Anglo pupils, less adequate for Spanish-American pupils, and least adequate for Indian pupils. It seems obvious that members

of the school administration and teaching staff have been unable to communicate their discontent with the present educational programs to the community or, in Community A, even to the school board.

A CONCLUDING STATEMENT

In interpreting these findings, one is struck by the similarity in perceptions in two quite disparate communities at opposite ends of the state. The responses are markedly similar, even though the Spanish-Americans and Indians are a decided minority in the one community while the other is split evenly into Spanish-American and Anglo segments. In both communities, there is an almost unanimous feeling that Spanish-American and Indian children are less capable of achieving desirable goals and ultimately becoming productive members of society than are their Anglo contemporaries.

This lack of ability of the minority groups appears, to be perceived by Anglo members of the communities studied as a lack of innate ability and support rather than as the fault of an inadequate school program that in no way attempts to compensate for the educational disadvantage of these children, many of whom can barely speak English when they enter the schools. One interpretation of this finding suggests that we are experiencing a manifestation of the stereotyped view of Spanish-Americans and Indians as little interested in education, as coming from families that place little value on education and that do little to assist or support their children's attempts in school and, in the case of the Indian in particular, as content to live as wards of the Federal Government.

One of the most disturbing factors is that this feeling of inferiority appears to be internalized by the minority groups themselves, thus creating an insidious negative climate for their children. With minority-group parents reflecting the same negative valuation of their children's ability to achieve at the level of the dominant Anglo child as that held by school administrators, teachers and the public at large, is it any wonder that these children are perceived as evidencing little motivation, interest and perseverance in the schools. Are we asking far too much of a child to continue working toward vague educational goals and gainful employment when most of the significant adults in his life - parents, adult friends, teachers, counselors - all evidence a lack of confidence in his ability to achieve the same goals as his Anglo classmates?[25]

Our findings in the southwest are remarkably similar to those of Martin Deutsch's in New York which he summarizes in the following statement:

> The thesis here is that the lower-class child enters the school situation so poorly prepared to produce what the school demands that initial failures are almost inevitable, and the school experience becomes negatively rather than positively reinforced. Thus the child's experience in school does nothing to counteract the invidious influence to which he is exposed in his slum, and sometimes segregated, neighborhoods.
>
> .....We know that it is difficult for all peoples to span cultural discontinuities, and yet we make little if any effort to prepare administrative personnel or teachers and guidance staff to assist the child in this transition from one cultural context to another. This transition must have serious psychological consequences for the child, and probably plays a major role in influencing his later perceptions of other social institutions as he is introduced to them.

> .....The frustration inherent in not understanding, not succeeding, and not being stimulated in the school - although being regulated by it, creates a basis for the further development of negative self-images and low evaluations of individual competencies. ..... No matter how the parents might aspire to a higher achievement level for their child, their lack of knowledge as to the operational implementation, combined with the child's early failure experiences in the school, can so effectively attenuate confidence in his ability ever to handle competently challenge in the academic area, that the child loses all motivation.[26]

In both communities the educators are less sanguine about the adequacy of the schools' programs for Spanish-American and Indian children, with school administrators far more dissatisfied with existing educational programs than members of the school board or teachers. For the most part, however, they appear to have been unable to communicate their feelings to the communities at large or, in one instance, even to the school board much less to translate this dissatisfaction into action.

Moreover, the study revealed a sharp disparity between school board members and school administrators regarding their perceptions of the degree of encouragement accorded children from the three ethnic groups in the schools and the adequacy of existing educational programs for each of these groups. In one case while the school board members interviewed were quite satisfied with the existing programs and felt they were equally efficacious for Anglo, Spanish-American and Indian children, school administrators, quite to the contrary, felt that Spanish-American and Indian students were not encouraged as much as their Anglo classmates. They also demonstrated a lack of satisfaction with existing school programs available to these same children.

In the second community while both the school board and school administration evidence dissatisfaction with the programs presently offered for Spanish-American and Indian children, they sharply disagree on their perceptions of the relative amount of encouragement given the each of the ethnic groups. The school board feels that Anglo children receive preferrential treatment in the schools. In contradistinction, the school administrators feel that Indian children are encouraged the most by school personnel.

The result of these differential perceptions in both communities appears to be paralysis resulting in educational programs that are ill suited for Spanish-American and Indian children who enter school at distinct educational disadvantage.

Finally, it is the authors' opinion that the importance of perceptions and attitudes in the provision of equal educational opportunities has been totally overlooked. With little awareness of the differential efficacy of education programs on the part of all concerned - the community at large, the school board, the school personnel, and most importantly the minority group parents in many instances - such programs continue to be inherently unequal. As the schools offer all children essentially the same programs, they fail to assist the minority child in overcoming the educational handicaps with which he enters school. When this notion of one-program-for-all is coupled with the feeling that minority children are innately less capable than the middle-class Anglo, little is done to offer true equality of educational opportunity.

FOOTNOTES

1. We are indebted to Drs. Darrell S. Willey, Alfred M. Potts, and Glenn M. Linden for their assistance, advice, and criticism. Also we wish to express our appreciation to Miss Ann Simmons and Mr. Ellis Scott for supervising the coding of the data.

2. The first of these is the massive Equality of Educational Opportunity Study conducted by James S. Coleman and Ernest Q. Campbell, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, OE-38001, 1966) which surveyed the extent to which equal educational opportunities are being provided for 600,000 students all over the United States. The second study, an adjunct to the first one, involved a study of school integration in ten American cities by Raymond W. Mack. Portions of the data and findings are reported in the publication cited above.

3. These four criteria are identified by Ernest Q. Campbell and James S. Coleman, "Inequalities in Educational Opportunities in the United States," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Miami Beach, Florida, August, 1966, pp. 2-3.

4. See for example Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, OE-38000 Summary, 1966).

5. Brown V. Board of Education of Topeka (Kansas). 347 U. S. 483, 74 Sup. ct. 868 (1954).

6. See Raymond W. Mack, "School Integration and Social Change," Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Miami Beach, Florida, August, 1966 for details of the study mentioned earlier.

7. Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child (N. Y.: Harper & Row, 1962).

8. Ibid.

9. A. W. Combs and D. Snygg, Individual Behavior (N. Y.: Harper Brothers 1959).

10. C. R. Rogers, Client-centered Therapy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951).

11. For example, a study by Sidney M. Jourard and Richard M. Remy entitled, "Perceived Parental Attitudes, the Self, and Security," Journal of Consulting Psychology XIX (October, 1955), 364-366, demonstrated that self-appraisals by children are highly related to their perception of their parents' appraisal of them.

12. See Sarane S. Boocock, "Toward a Sociology of Learning: A Selective Review of Existing Research," Sociology of Education, XXXIX (Winter, 1966), 1-45 for a good review of the literature.

13. Ibid.

14. Equal Educational Opportunity, Op. Cit., p. 296.

15. David Gottlieb, "Poor Youth Do Want to be Middle Class but It's Not Easy," Paper delivered at the Sixty-First Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Miami Beach, Florida, August 30, 1966.

16. A. T. Jersild, "In Search of Self," (N. Y.: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1952).

17. T. A. Reeder, "A Study of Some Relationships Between Level of Self Concept Academic Achievement and Classroom Adjustment," Dissertation Abstract, XV (1955), p. 2472.

18. P. H. Stevens, "An Investigation of the Relationship Between Certain Aspects of Self-Concept Behavior and Students' Academic Achievement," Dissertation Abstract, XVI (1956), pp. 2531-2532.

19. Helen H. Davidson and Gerhard Lang, "Children's Teachers' Feelings Toward Them Related to Self-Perception, School Achievement and Behavior," Journal of Experimental Education, XXIX (December, 1960, 107-118.

20. Burton Clark, Educating the Expert Society (San Francisco: Chandler, 1962).

21. Riessman, Op. Cit., p. 19 uses this term for a number of indirect and subtle forms of discrimination in the schools many of which are totally unintentional.

22. The data for this study was collected as part of an An Interdisciplinary Institute for the In-Service Training of Teachers and Other School Personnel to Accelerate the School Acceptance of Indian, Negro, and Spanish-speaking Pupils from the Southwest," Contract No. OEC 4-6-000201-1980, from the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, under P. L. 88-352, Title IV, Section 404, The Civil Rights Act of 1964, July, 1966 directed by Dr. Darrell S. Willey, Professor and Head of the Department of Educational Administration New Mexico State University.

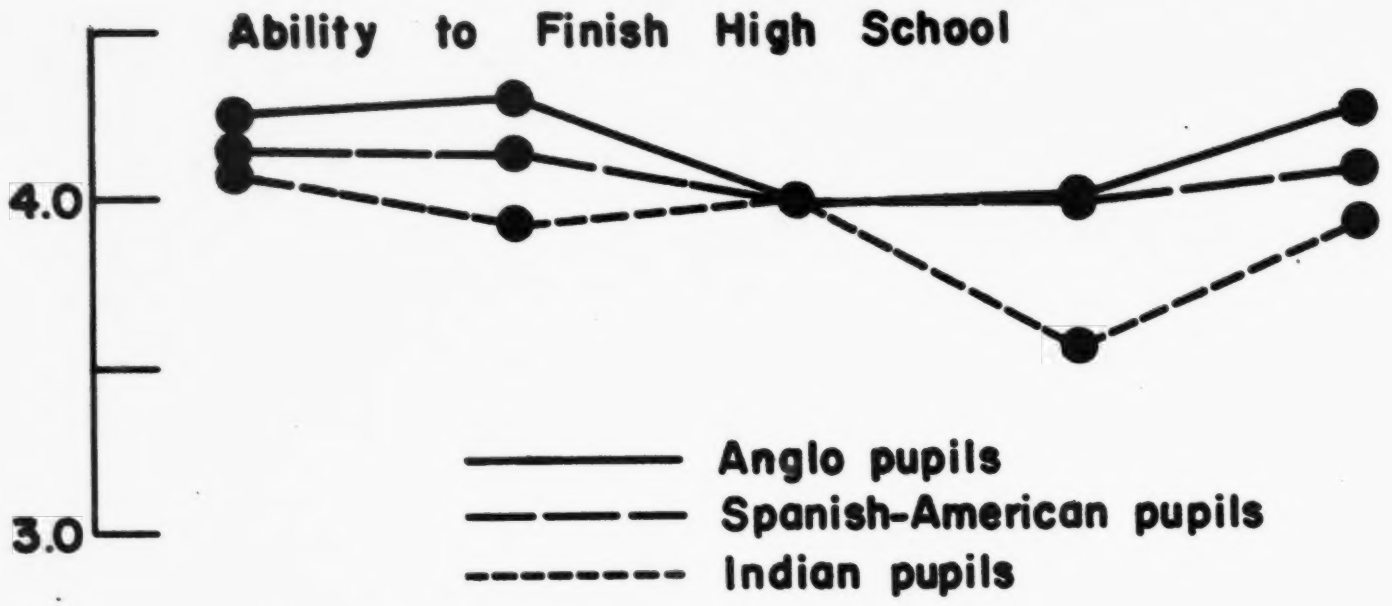
23. Data from our own study not reported here illustrates the failure of Spanish-American and Indian children to achieve at a commensurate level with their Anglo classmates much as does the Coleman-Campbell study.

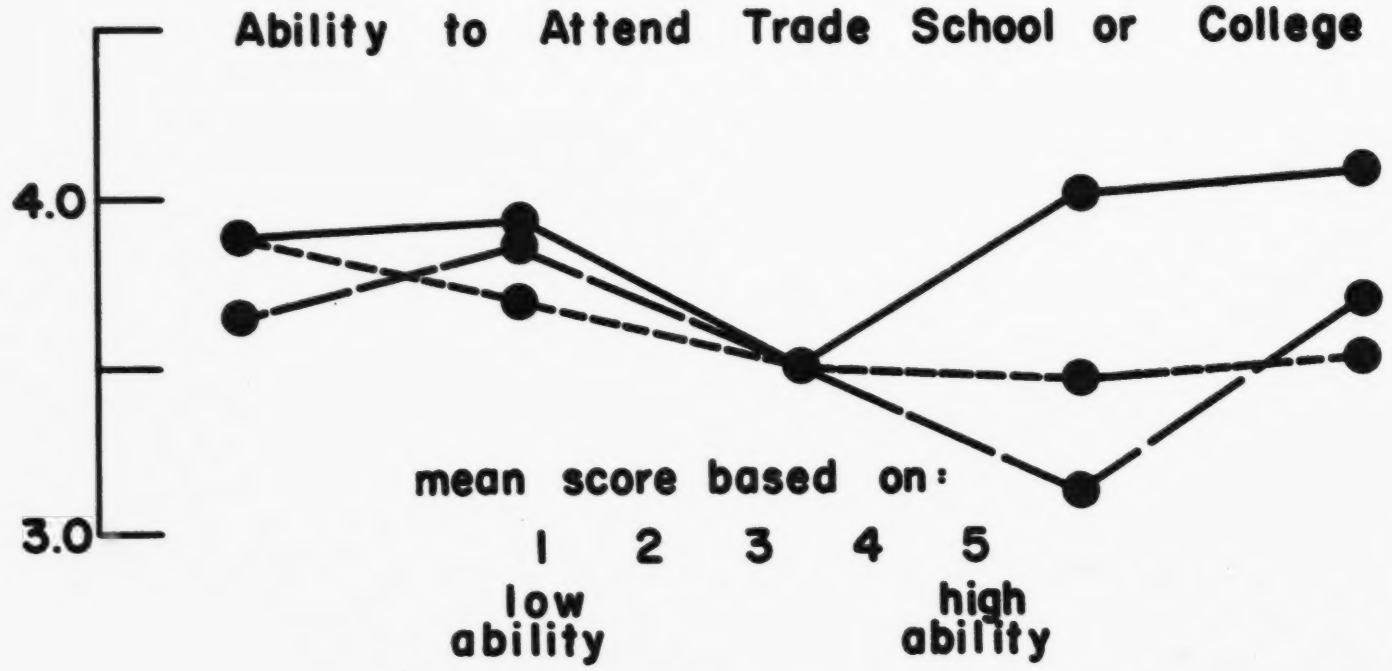
24. In one community, for example, all Indian children are automatically placed in low-ability "special education" classes upon entering junior high school, even though they may be entering from an elementary school on the reservation where their achievement is well above average on national norms.

25. This contention is supported by the results of a study by David P. Ausubel (et. al.), "Perceived Parent Attitudes As Determinants of Children's Ego Structure," Child Development, XXV (September, 1954), 173-183 which found that the level of children's aspirations, their tolerance of frustration, ideational independence from parents, and the maturity of their personalities were all related to the chilren's perceptions of their parents' valuation of them.

26. Martin Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process," Education in Depressed Areas ed. A. Harry Passow (N. Y.: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1963), pp. 163-164, 177.

FIGURE 1. COMMUNITY A: PERCEPTIONS OF THE ABILITIES OF ANGLO, SPANISH-AMERICAN, AND INDIAN PUPILS.





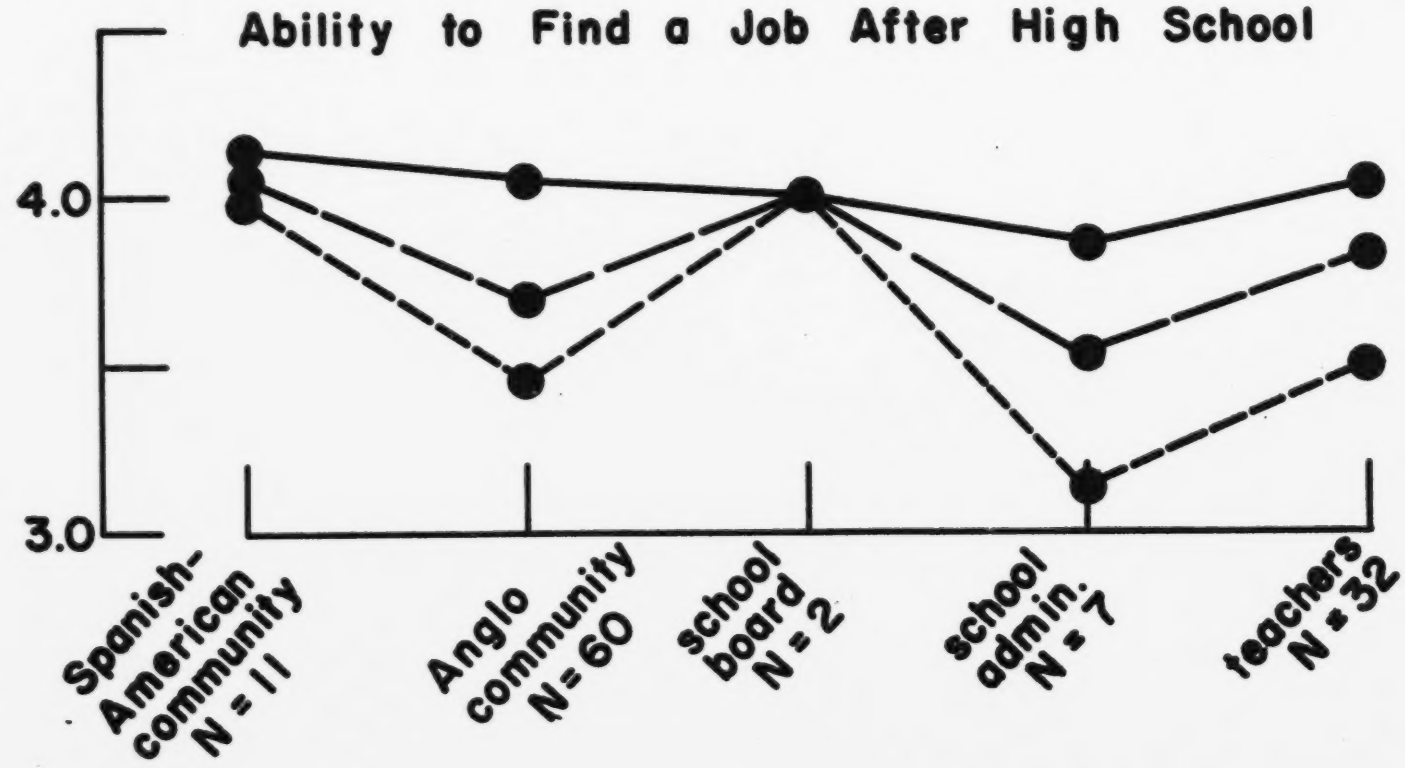

Ability to Find a Job After High School
4.0
3.0
Spanish-American community N = 11
Anglo community N = 60
school board N = 2
school admin. N = 7
teachers N = 32

FIGURE 2. COMMUNITY B: PERCEPTIONS OF THE ABILITIES OF ANGLO, SPANISH-AMERICAN, AND INDIAN PUPILS.

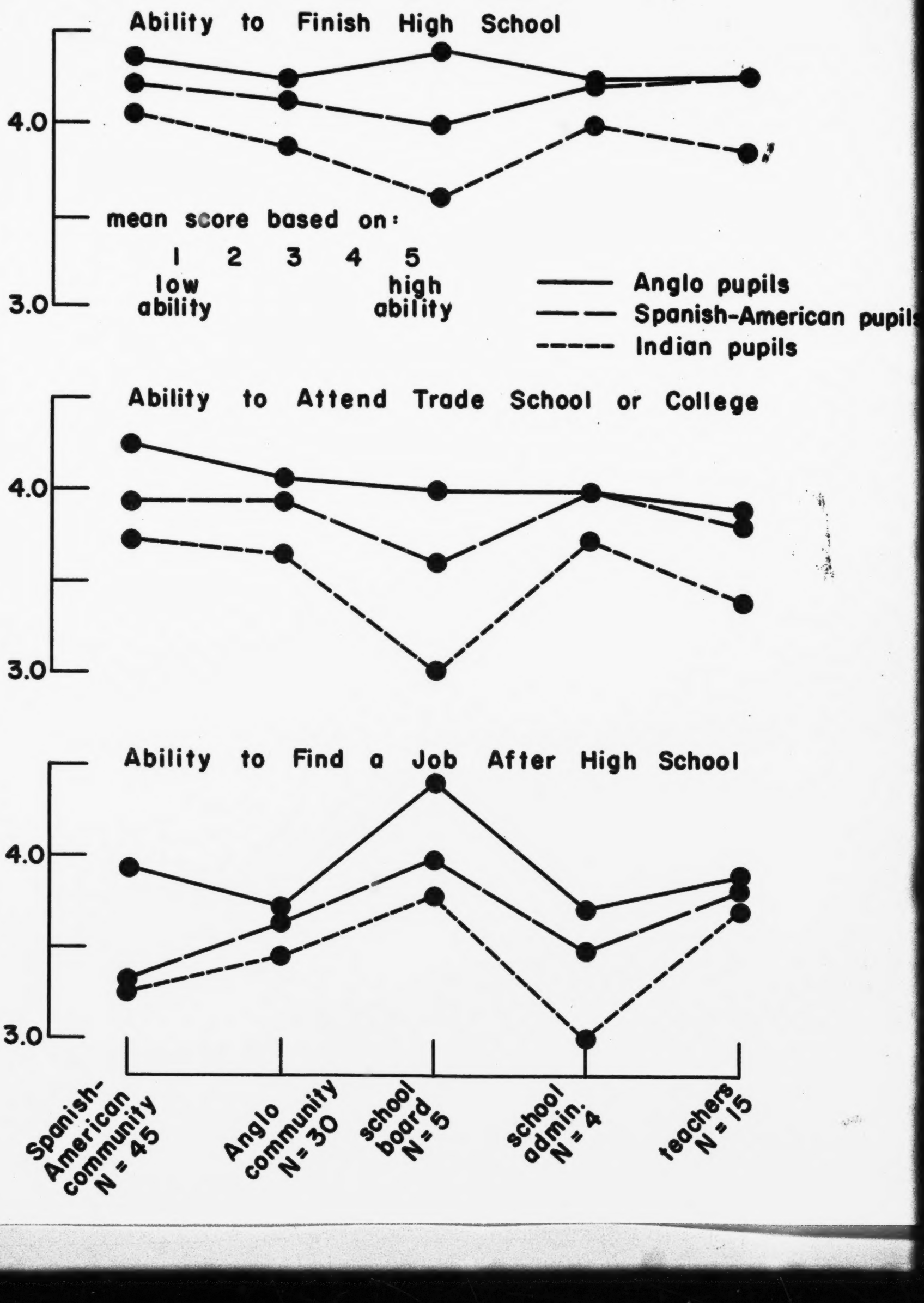


FIGURE 3. COMMUNITY A: PERCEPTIONS OF ENCOURAGEMENT GIVEN TO ANGLO, SPANISH-AMERICAN, AND INDIAN PUPILS BY SCHOOL PERSONNEL.

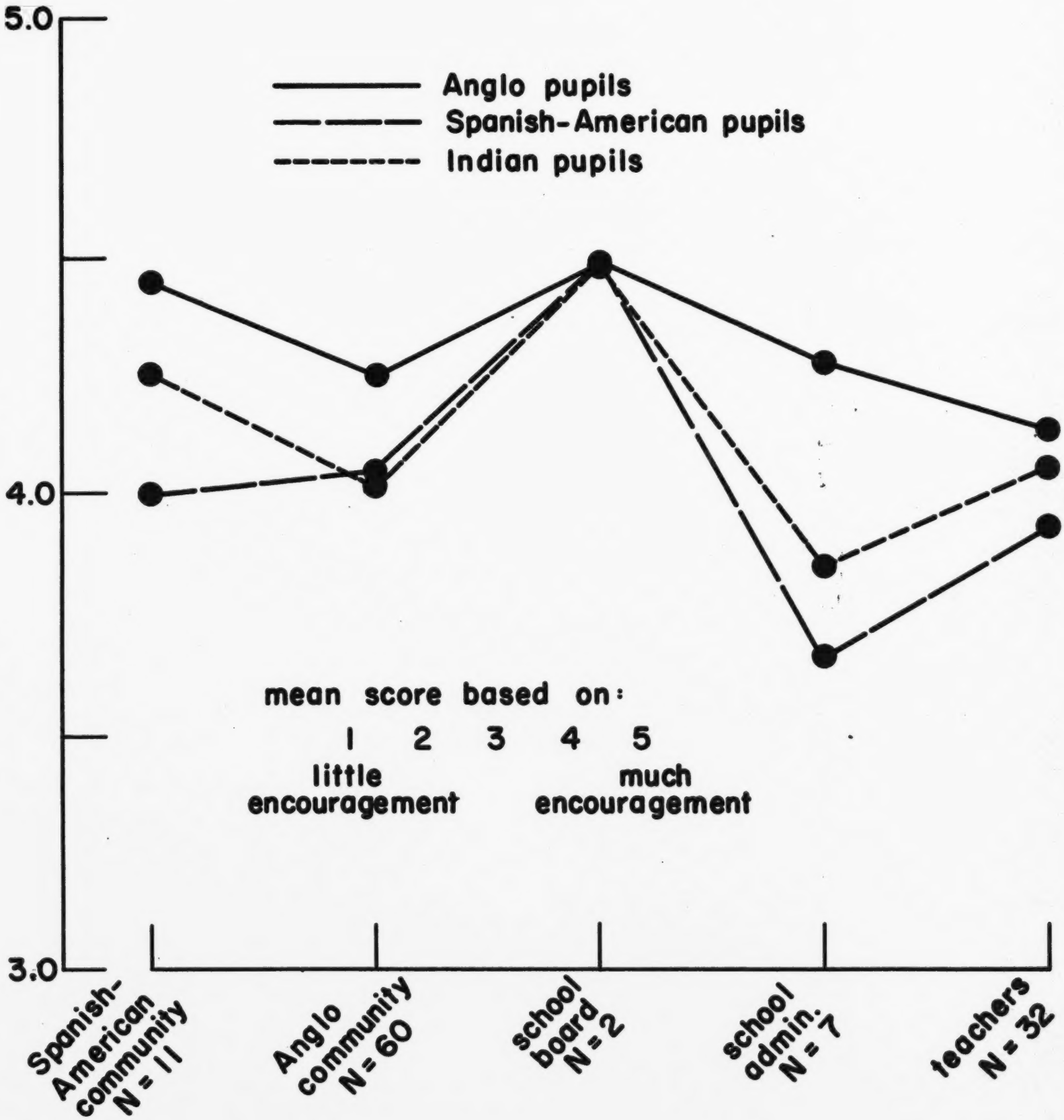


FIGURE 4. COMMUNITY B: PERCEPTIONS OF ENCOURAGEMENT GIVEN TO ANGLO, SPANISH-AMERICAN, AND INDIAN PUPILS BY SCHOOL PERSONNEL.

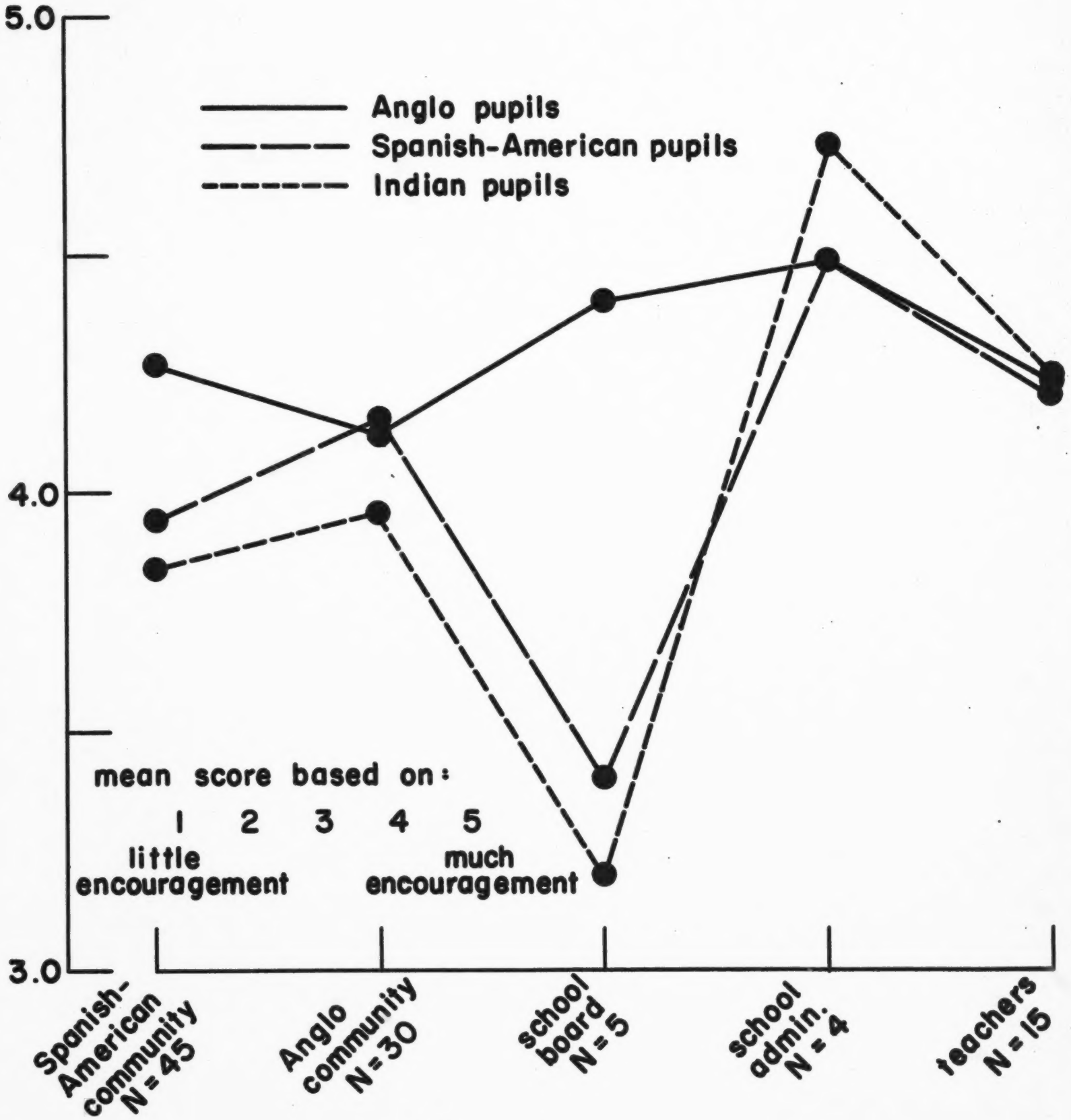


FIGURE 5. COMMUNITY A: PERCEPTIONS OF THE ADEQUACY OF THE SCHOOL PROGRAM FOR ANGLO, SPANISH-AMERICAN, AND INDIAN PUPILS.

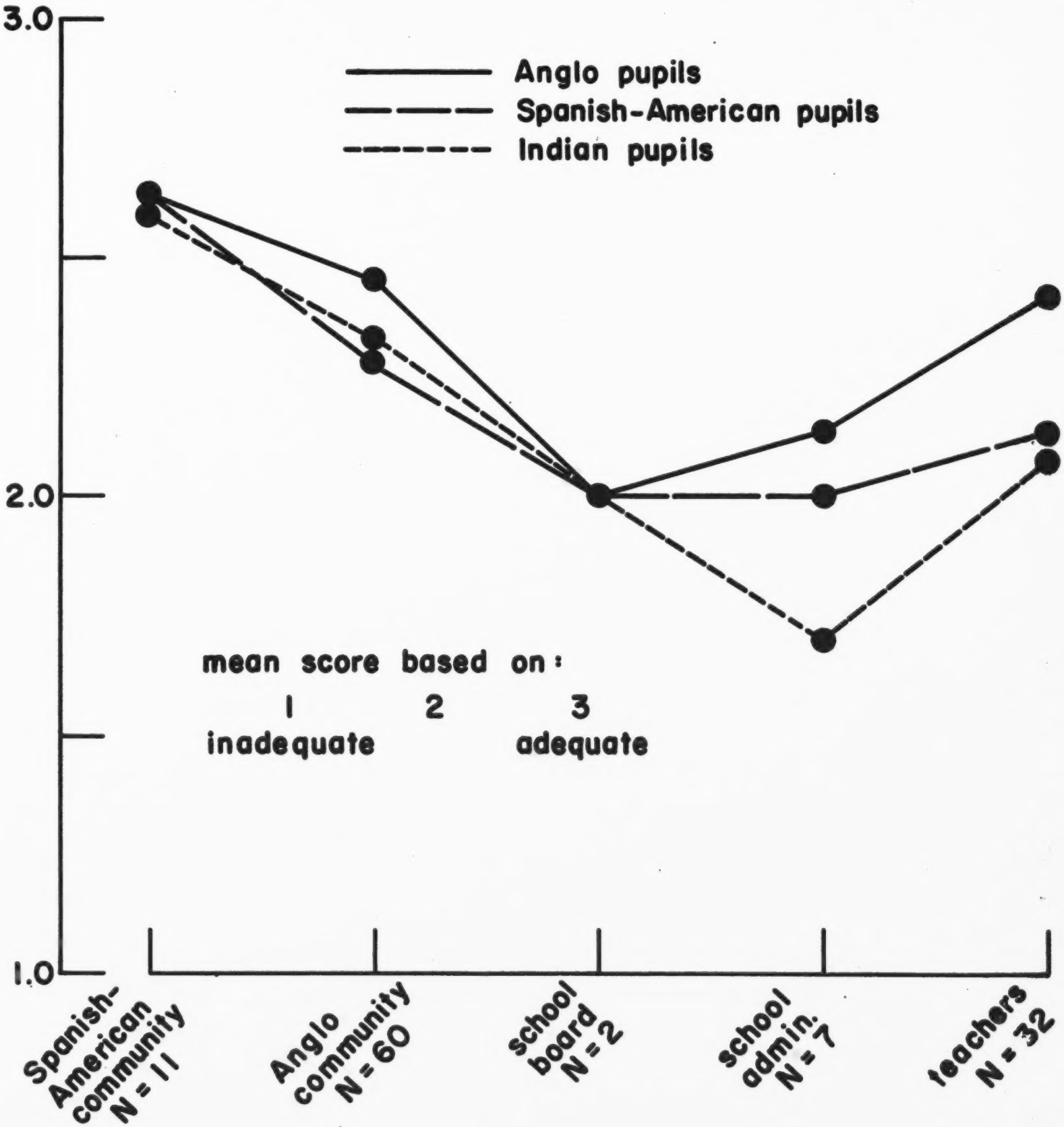


FIGURE 6. COMMUNITY B: PERCEPTIONS OF THE ADEQUACY OF THE SCHOOL PROGRAM FOR ANGLO, SPANICH-AMERICAN, AND INDIAN PUPILS.